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ABSTRACT

A detailed, general and comprehensive accounting scheme is presented, consisting of nine stages of career development, three major sets of elements contributing to career choice (in terms of personal, cultural and situational roles), and 20 hypotheses relating the separate elements. Implicit in the model is a novel procedure and method for systematically analyzing biographies and life histories in a way that will not only help to codify the data but will also shed light on the sociological and social psychological factors underlying such lives. The aim of this approach is to facilitate understanding and research on persons in social context with a view to promoting more serious, more informed decisions about their lives, decisions made not only by administrators of government and personnel managers but by the persons themselves. (Author)

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IDENTITY BARGAINING:

A POLICY SYSTEMS RESEARCH MODEL OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT

by Carl Slawski

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Introduction

The present model of career development was elaborated over a period of several years. The author has been concerned with career choice for almost a quarter century. This paper is the most complete statement achieved to date of the theoretical fruits of this deep practical interest. One can only hope that other researchers and theorists will find it of value. The detailed illustration based on the life of one of the most significantpsychoanalysts of our time should make it even easier to understand and put into practice by career counselors. The social scientifically intelligent lay reader who is embarking on a significant reevaluation of his own career should also find it valuable.

Nine career stages are listed on the first page of the accounting scheme (to follow). The major events which correspond to each will be illustrated with ethnographic evidence from Erik Erikson's autobiographic notes (Daedalus, Fall 1970). (All references are to this article unless otherwise noted.) Then the elements of career role bargaining will themselves be treated in order, beginning with the cultural roles, then the personal roles, and finally ending with the situational or societal factors. When this listing is completed, the twenty hypotheses which relate each of the factors within each role type will be illustrated to show how the items hang together in a more explanatory way. (The hypotheses were stated in the course of a study of professional socialization. Hence, some of the language refers to college and department, etc. Still the author is confident that the model and hypotheses are equally applicable to any socialization setting.)

Erikson wrote this essay in order to show how his ideas on the "identity crisis" were developed in relation to his own personal life experiences relative to the needs of his age and times. Hopefully the model presented

here will be illustrated in such a way as to stimulate others to use it to help codify our knowledge of the process of career development. Along the way some new light may also be thrown upon the development of crucial concepts in the history of social science and social practice. The accounting scheme and hypotheses were developed after an extensive search of the literature for all concepts which bear upon the problem of career choice through a lifetime.

In practice, the procedure for using the list was to become thoroughly familiar with the model's stages and items, then to keep them in mind as far as possible when reading the autobiographical essay. Letters and numbers corresponding to each stage and each item were written in the margin of the text (of Erikson's essay, 1976) during successive rereadings. Then page numbers of the text were written in the margin of the check list (provided by the accounting schemes) before each stage or item of the check list which corresponded with that item in the text. This list was then used to systematically extract ideas and quotations from the text in order to illustrate the theoretical model. After this it was then possible to relate the items, taking normally two at a time, to illustrate the hypotheses. (Later, after this procedure has been carried out for several such autobiographical or biographical sequences it will be possible to further revise the list and hypotheses as necessary, following the method of analytic induction). After a few such applications it will be useful to begin to reevaluate the relative utility of this tentative theoretical formulation compared to other formulations extant in the field of social science regarding career development.) An initial attempt to evaluate the theory will be given based on the four criteria for a good theory which the author has discussed elsewhere (1974).

Accounting Scheme

Two diagrams plus a nine-page accounting scheme with formal hypotheses follow. The remainder of the paper will illustrate their use. Diagram I is a summary of all possible categories of career development, with the nine stages across the top, and the three system types or role types down the left side. Arrows indicate major directions of influence (or feedback). Diagram II looks at the relations within each of the three role types or subsystems, with arrows indicating hypotheses to be stated in the succeeding few pages, and illustrated later in the body of the paper.

INITIAL → TRIAL → STABLE →

I. Early Life	II. Range Narrowing	III. Early Experience	IV. First Big Job	V. Commitment	VI. Turning Points	VII. Other Opportunities	VIII. Mature Productive Years	IX. Retirement
	↓	↓			↑	↑		
CULTURAL	B. Individual Culture 1) Ownership, 2) Family 3) Peers	A. Background Socio-Physical Boundaries: 1) Physical, 2) Social Structure, 3) Historical Change, 4) SES Org.	C. Nature and Culture of the Occupation Itself. →					
		E. Socializer Agenda ↓	D. Culture of the Employer Org.	F. Outside Influences G. Other Cultural Influences				
PERSONAL	I. Proximate Personal Determinants	J. Socializer Strategies as Perceived						
H. Personality Dy't		K. Immediate Personal Determinants ↓	L. Other Personal Determinants					
SITUATIONAL	M. Sociopsychological Attributes	N. Proximate Social Determinants	O. Indiv. General Situation					
	Q. Definition of Situation →		P. Immediate Situational Determinants					
			R. Coordination Attempts ⟹					

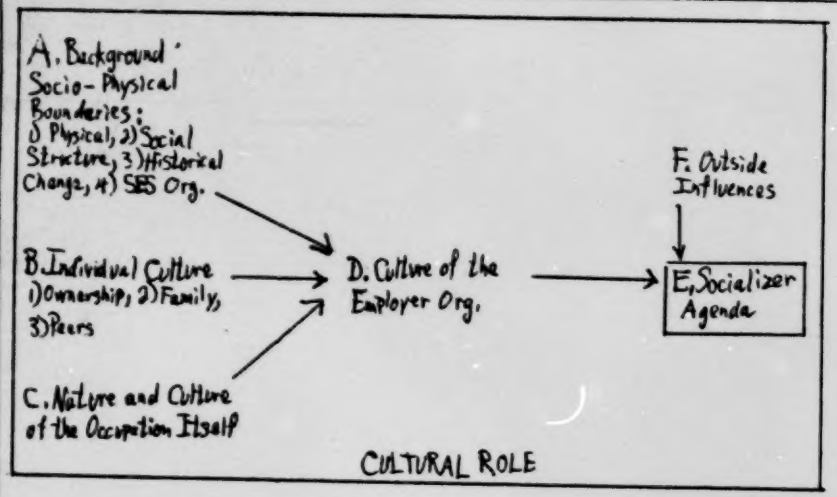
DIAGRAM I: Accounting Scheme

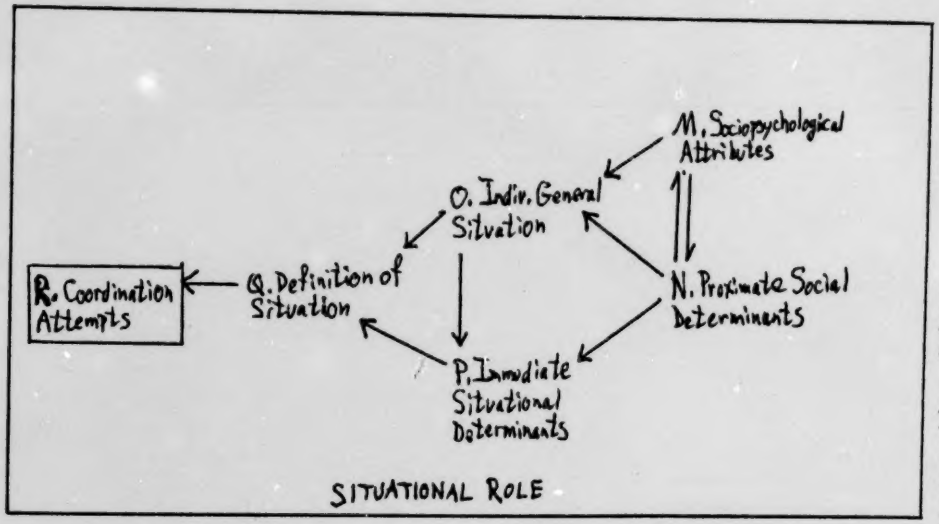
7

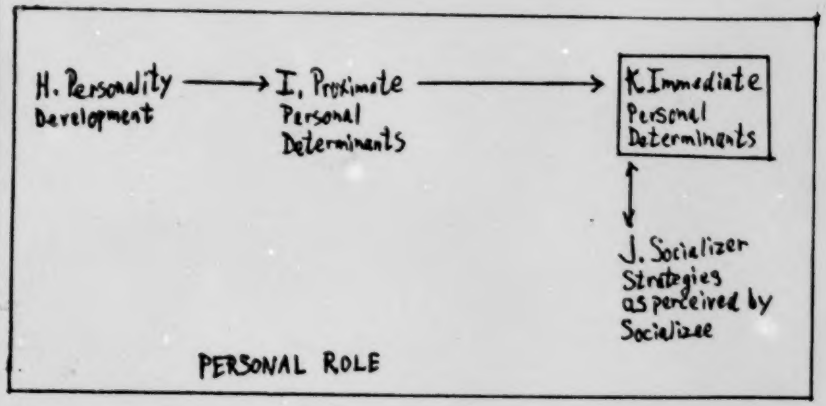
PERSONAL ROLES — SITUATIONAL ROLES →

Family Culture ← Professional Culture → ← World and National/Regional Culture →

8


A. Background Socio-Physical Boundaries; 1) Physical, 2) Social Structure, 3) Historical Change, 4) SES Org.
B. Individual Culture 1) Ownership, 2) Family, 3) Peers
C. Nature and Culture of the Occupation Itself
D. Culture of the Employer Org.
F. Outside Influences
E. Socializer Agenda
CULTURAL ROLE




H. Personality Development
I. Proximate Personal Determinants
K. Immediate Personal Determinants
J. Socializer Strategies as perceived by Socializee
PERSONAL ROLE

SYSTEMS DIAGRAM II: Accounting Scheme

p.4

ACCOUNTING SCHEME

CAREER STAGES AND TURNING POINTS: Choice Situations

INITIAL PERIOD of work adjustment (Part time and summer employment):

I. Early Life Experience gives orientation — I-III: Intrapersonal (since past)

II. Narrowing Range of Choice

TRIAL PERIOD:

III. Early experience in the range of preference

STABLE PERIOD: — IV-IX: Situational

IV. First permanent (full time) job in the field of choice
- A. Probation
- B. Job Experience

V. Commitment (vs. Disillusionment or alternate opportunities):
- A. To range of jobs
  1. On the advancement tree
  2. On a plateau
- B. To the overall direction
  1. Immediate establishment, gradual development, undirected, unestablished, disestablished; Clearly ordered or created en route. (Compare all other stages on these items.)
- C. To ideology of occupation
- D. To the organization
- E. Nine stabilizing forces: (J.F. Dewhurst in Miller & Form: 596-601)
  1. Realization or rationalization of the trial period goal
  2. Seniority
  3. Age
  4. Income
  5. Marriage and family
  6. Home ownership
  7. Friendship ties
  8. Institutional ties
  9. Identification with work plant and community
- F. Five Disrupting Forces (Miller & Form 601-602):
  1. Cyclical and seasonal unemployment
  2. Technological unemployment
  3. Sickness and physical disability
  4. Divorce
  5. Chance risks of life

VI. TURNING POINTS IN Advancement: Promotion or Demotion
- A. Evaluation Time
- B. Achievement leading to recognition (payoff)
- C. Failure on the job

VII. Other Opportunities or Offers
- A. Depends on the Market
- B. Depends on Contacts
  1. Within the organization
  2. In another organization or setting
  3. Outside the field

VIII. Productive Years
- A. Tenure

IX. Retirement

ELEMENTS

I. CULTURAL ROLES (DSO) As experienced
Appropriate Model is the Social Structural (involving matching cultural with personality factors).

A. BACKGROUND SOCIO-PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES:

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS
Resources
Topography
Climate
Ecology of Community, School, Department*

SOCIAL STRUCTURE
Social Stratification System
Cultural Values and Norms*
Demographic Characteristics
Type of Economy
Technology

HISTORICAL Change
Trends in Social Mobility*
Shifts in Industrial Composition
Historical Development of Social Organizations
Changes in Level and Structure of Consumer Demand

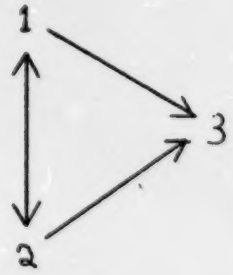
SOCIOECONOMIC ORGANIZATION
Occupational Distribution and Rate of Labor Turnover
Division of Labor
Policies of Relevant Organizations (Gov't, Firms, Unions, etc.)
Stage of the Business Cycle

B. INDIVIDUAL CULTURE

1. OWNERSHIP
Class
Ethnic
School
Education*

2. FAMILY
Husband-Wife
Children
Family of Origin
Sex Role
Religion
Father's Occupation

3. PEERS
Subculture
Area (Urban-Rural)
Invasion (Industrialization)
Best Friends



C. NATURE AND CULTURE OF THE PROFESSION, OCCUPATION AND/OR DISCIPLINE ITSELF:

Methodological Hardness*
Required conformity to common
 Needs
 Goal striving
Ethics
Rules of the Game*
 Specificity of entrance requirements
 Uniformity of behavior
 Overarching rules, Values
 Social Relevence*
 Style of Social interaction or accommodation typically accepted*

D. CULTURE OF THE CORPORATION (COLLEGE) AND DEPARTMENT:

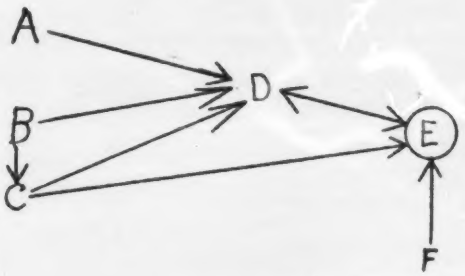
Faculty Prospectus*
Student Prospectus

E. SOCIALIZER (FACULTY) AGENDA

Sponsor vs. Judge*
Mix (of emphasis on teaching, research, administration or public service)
Organizational Arrangements
  Flat vs. Tall
  Policy/Ideology
  Traditions (mix, etc.)*
  Administrators
  Implied Means and Goals

F. OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

Change Agent
Higher Administrators



II. PERSONAL ROLES (DI)

Models appropriate include a) Dissonance, b) Complex information processing model, c) need reduction model, and d) probable gain model. Chronologically & Gen. to specific, remote to immediate: within and across categories.

H. PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT:
Biological conditions
Educational Development*
Process of Socialization
Effects of Available Financial Resources
Differential Family Influences

I. PROXIMATE PERSONAL DETERMINANTS
Occupational Information
Technical Qualifications vs. Task Competence
Social Role Characteristics
Reward Value Hierarchy*
Five Success Wishes normally arise as end products of the cultural expectations of the initial work period. 1) the wish for independence, 2) the wish to demonstrate ability to work hard, 3) the wish to determine ability to get along with people, 4) the wish to have and manage money, and 5) the wish to make a good job record. (Miller & F: 548)

Individual's Perceptions
Preference Hierarchy*
4 values of puritanism (Miller & F: 548):
1) It is man's duty to know <u>how</u> to work and how to work <u>hard</u>. 2) Success in work is evidence of God's favor, 3) The measure of success is money and property, 4) The way to success is through industry and thrift.
Four initial wants of the average worker (Elmo Roper in Miller & F: 554): 1) security, 2) chance to advance, 3) to be treated like a human being, 4) to feel important. (during the trial work period.)
Satisfactions: Range and Strength.*
Attitudes (Beliefs, Strategies, Behavior)
Sentiments
Role Model Crisis
Role Taking
Frustrations re Goals

Investment*
Sharing with co-workers
Interest in Problems
Image of the Field (q.v.
Commitment to the occupational title*
Commitment to the task
Commitment to the profession
and its members, i.e., trainers, socializers, significant others.
Pride in Skills

J. SOCIALIZER STRATEGIES as perceived by Socializee

K. IMMEDIATE PERSONAL DETERMINANTS
Expectancy Hierarchy*
Near future and immediate agenda
Self Label* (Secondary Identification with occupation)/or Self Identity
Actual (Need Ladder)
Desired
Reference Groups
Occupational Persons
Student Agenda

III. SITUATIONAL ROLES (DA)

M. SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES
General level of Knowledge
Abilities and Educational Level*
Social Position and Relations
Orientation to Occupational Life
(Its Importance, Identification with models, aspirations, etc.)

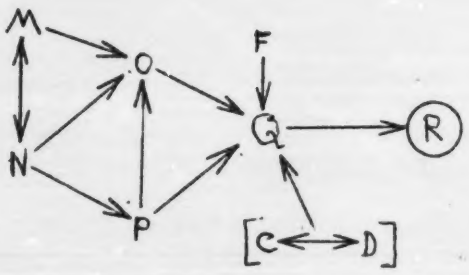
N. PROXIMATE SOCIAL DETERMINANTS
Formal Opportunities (Demand)
Functional Requirements
Nonfunctional Requirements
Amount and Types of Rewards*

O. INDIVIDUAL GENERAL SITUATION
Neighborhood
Group Relations
Normative reference groups
Typical Occupational patterns of friends and acquaintances
Developmental Stage
Place on Advancement Tree* (3 periods, 10 links in occupational chain, 9 stabilizing forces, 5 disrupting forces)
Six goal orientations: 1) ambitious, 2) responsive 3) fulfilled, 4) confused, 5) frustrated, 6) defeated (Miller & Form: 556).
Six types of work progress: 1) Rising, 2) repeating and paralleling, 3) completed, 4) erratic , 5 blocked, 6) regression
Others' Labels*
Societal Definitions (Public Labels of Occupation)

P. IMMEDIATE SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS
Selection Agency Practices
Ideal Standards
Realistic Estimates
Primary Labeling* (Identification with occupation by others)
Employer's or superior's agenda*

Q. DEFINITION OF SITUATION
Bargaining Styles
  Role
  Problems
Perceptions
  Facilities (available means)
  Sanctions (societal, group norms)
Motivation
Socializee's Typical Persona*
Typical Accommodation Style
Social Distance*
  Goals of Education
  Means
Sharing

R. COORDINATION ATTEMPTS: Meshing
Promotive plus Preventive



IDENTITY BARGAINING:

A POLICY SYSTEMS RESEARCH MODEL OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT
SOME HYPOTHESES BUILT AROUND A MODEL

Basic Hypotheses

1. The most general encompassing hypothesis concerning identity bargaining is as follows:

Self identity (uniquely bounded and stimulated in a role) is largely affected by how the typical occupational persona of the socializee meshes with that range of role enactments acceptable and desired by him (involving perceived knowledge and skills, and potential) as perceived, and especially as sanctioned by the expressed agendas of the gate keepers in his present socializing or social learning situation.

2. The key subordinate hypothesis is:

The socializer's (faculty's) agenda (primarily involving their formal and ~~socializer's~~ informal teaching attempts, and whether or not they operate with a sponsorship or judgeship system) depends heavily on the ideology of the discipline, or the occupation.

3. The socializer's (faculty's) agenda strongly affects the socializee's (student's) persona, self-role, identity, and self consistency.

4. And the socializee's (student's) persona, identity, and self consistency strongly affects the type of accommodation style selected or resulting from his attempts at dealing with his socializer.

5. The typical meshing of socializer and socializee personas correlates with the kind of role identity and self consistency they maintain.

6. Self and role identity (of socializer and socializee) are correlated with one's occupational persona type, and degree and kind of self consistency.

7. In summary: Other things being equal, in the role-transaction process, to the extent that the strain of the individuals' cultural, situational and personal roles converge on a stage-specific career-identity type, to that extent it is more probably that such an individual will identify with the career in question, and simultaneously participate in its culture.

Elements Related to CULTURAL ROLES (as experienced):

1. Many background socio-physical elements set boundaries to the culture of the corporation (college) and the department. A- - →D

2. Individual cultural factors set boundaries on the culture of the corporation (college) and department. B- - →D

3. Individual cultural factors (among those selected) set boundaries on the nature and culture of the profession or occupation and the discipline itself. B- - →C

4. The nature and culture of the profession, occupation,and discipline set limits to the culture of the corporation (college) and the department . C- - → D

5. The nature and culture of the profession, occupation, and discipline affects, and is somewhat reciprocally affected by the socializer(s)' agenda. C- - →E

6. The nature and culture of the profession, occupation, and discipline affect the socializer's agenda. C- - →E

7. Outside influences also affect the socializer's agenda. F- - →E

8. Within the individual Culture (B), ownership and family factors are correlated, and both affect the extent of participation and kind of peer group entered.

Elements Related to PERSONAL ROLES

9. Overall personality development feeds into the proximate personal determinants (of career choice). H- - →I

10. These (proximate personal determinants) in turn affect the more immediate personal determinants. I- - →K

11. And there is a reciprocal influence between the socializer strategies (as perceived by the socialize) and the socializee's immediate personal determinants. J- - →K

Elements Related to or Dealing with SITUATIONAL ROLES

12. Sociopsychological attributes correlate with proximate social determinants. M←- →N

13. Sociopsychological attributes affect the individual's general situation. M←- →O

14. Proximate social determinants affect the individual's general situation. N- - →O

15. Proximate social determinants affect the immediate situational determinants. N- - →P

16. The immediate situational determinants in turn affect the individual's general situation. P- - →O

17. The individual's general situation affects his definition of the situation. O- - →Q

18. The immediate situational determinants affect an individual's definition of the situation. P- - →Q

19. The individual's definition of the situation is also affected by outside (cultural) influences, by immediate personal determinants, and by socializer strategies, as perceived.

20. The individual's definition of the situation closely bounds his coordination attempts. Q- - →R

Nine Career Stages

Let us begin with a consideration of the nine stages of career development.

I. One's early life experience gives an orientation to the occupational world as a whole. As Erikson points out, origins are especially important to those persons who are driven to be original. He grew up in Karlsruhe as the son of a pediatrician and his Danish wife.

> All through my earlier childhood they kept secret from me the fact that my mother had been married previously and that I was the son of a Dane who had abandoned her before my birth. They apparently thought that such secretiveness was not only possible (because children then were not meant to know what they had not been told) but also advisable, so that I would feel thoroughly at home in their home.

His mother had friends who were artists who worked in the folk style of the Black Forest. Erikson felt that he must have been imprinted by these artists since he later worked for a time as an artist himself. His adoptive father was apparently quite understanding and treated Erik as his true son. His step-father was a highly respected professional man in "an intensely Jewish small bourgeoisie family, while I (coming from a racially mixed Scandinavian background) was blond and blue-eyed, and grew flagrantly tall." Hence there was a struggle within himself between his identity as a Jew, a German, and finally a Dane when Denmark remained neutral during World War I. His home town was a Lutheran principality with a sizeable Catholic population. He was later to choose Luther as the subject for presenting his views on youth, history and primal Christianity.

He became intensely alienated from everything his bourgeois family stood for. He wanted to be different. After finishing the gymnasium he went to art school and learned sketching which helped him to learn to trace impressions, later including impressions of persons. He also made large woodprints, drifted to Italy to soak up the sun and sights, thus gaining a moratorium, a time to

search for an idea to which to devote his life.

II. His range of choice was somewhat narrowed for him through his friend, Peter Blos (later a New York psychoanalyst of adolescence). They had been friends at Karlsruhe, and for a time in Florence. Blos invited Erikson to join him in the small school in Vienna in the circle around Freud. This move from that of a wandering artist led to another of his great moments of imprinting, this time the mythical figure of Freud himself, also a rebel from his profession.

III. After training as a lay psychoanalyst he met and married Joan Serson, a dancer and teacher, later also an artist and writer, who had been a member of the school. It proved impracticable to regain Danish citizenship so they emigrated to the United States. He received medical school appointments at Harvard and later Yale, which provided him with the needed early experience in his range of preference for a life's work. His clinical experience was thus expanded, and his range of crucial contacts grew in an interdisciplinary direction in contact with Harry Murray, Margaret Mead and Kurt Lewin.

IV. This then represented his stable period of life, his first notable, permanent, full-time job in the field of his choice. Here he learned to write for an interdisciplinary audience, honing his concepts to communicate with people of many viewpoints. His language has always been simple, due no doubt in part to his need to learn to speak and write English after his emigration from German speaking countries.

V. During the thirties (1930's) he wss a practicing psychoanalyst, primarily with children. He also frequently attended clinical conferences and did some graduate work in psychology at Harvard. But when he was offered a full-time research appointment at Yale Medical School, he accepted, and did not do further studies toward an advanced degree. This marked his firm commitment

to his chosen profession and, of course, it also marked an end to his formal training. His learning did not stop by any means. He learned many valuable things through the Yale Institute of Human Relations, then under the leadership of John Dollard. He also made his first field trip to the Sioux Indians in South Dakota. His comitment to his profession continued in the 1940's in California on a longitudinal study of Berkeley children. He also made a second field trip, this time with Alfred Kroeber, to the Yurok Indians in California.

VI. A turning point in his advancement came after his appointment as a trained psychoanalyst in San Francisco. He acted as consultant in clinics and at a veterans rehabilitation center after World War II. Then came his first professorship, at Berkeley, during the McCarthy era. He was fired before the first year was up, but later reinstated because deemed "politically dependable." At this he resigned of his own accord because of the firing of others who were not considered "politically dependable." This became for him a test of his American identity. As one of many foreigners he and others were told to "go back where we came from." While they were told they were being disloyal to the soldiers fighting in Korea, they in fact were defending the very freedom those soldiers were said to be fighting for.

His use of the terms "identity" and "identity crisis" emerged from his experience in the clinic as well as his immigration and Americanization, in a time when these terms were of strategic importance for people of the Western world. This alludes to the distinctiveness of nationhood and the crises of global war. We can see how a great deal of the marginality Erikson experienced only personified (and enhanced) similar kinds of general feelings experienced by many of the world's people. He thus made the terms his special contribution to coping with these collective problems. The terms also represent the key result of his life, his trademark passed on to the history of social psychiatry (p. 747).

VII. The offer that came to him after the debacle of the loyalty oaths at the University of California was a job dealing with young patients at the Austen Riggs Center in the Berkshires. Here he found a friend and critic in David Rapaport who saw a place for Erikson's concepts in the edifice of psychoanalytic ego psychology (p. 749).

VIII. In his later or developed productive years, during the 1960's, he temporarily suspended his clinical work in order to learn how to teach his whole conception of the life cycle to Harvard undergraduates. These were of course people who were very much into that crisis and that stage of the life cycle (p. 749).

IX. Erikson to this day (1976) is still active in writing, clinical practice, and teaching, though of retirement age.

Elements of Career Role Bargaining:

Cultural Role Elements

The elements of career role bargaining will be illustrated next, beginning with cultural role elements, followed in turn by personal role elements, and then by situational role elements. Because most life experiences fall into more than one category, the illustrations to follow may seem somewhat repetitious, but necessarily so for a thorough analysis.

A. Now we come to the cultural role factors as experienced by the subject. There are a number of possible background socio-physical boundaries, including generally physical conditions, social structure, historical change and socio-economic organization of the subject's environment both as a child and in later life. Among these we may note the European traditions which seemed to accept war as necessary and certainly as nearly always with us. There were also the bourgeois traditions of his own family of upbringing which he later so strongly rejected in his youthful days. The opportunity to have close contact with Anna

Freud brought him into a tradition of a wholly other nature, one that was broundbreaking in the professional circles of the day, though one which has become so accepted in the modern Western world that it may now even be called a conservative one.

His upbringing in Karlsruhe, the fact of his being born out of wedlock, and being adopted through his mother's marriage with a respected pediatrician, a Dane and a Jew among predominantly Christian Germans, all left their impression on him, giving him at least a very general direction to his course of life. His later search for a role model came in the person of Sigmund Freud. Eri kson believes this came about because of his ambivalent identification with his stepfather and his search for his own real father whom he terms in this context "mythical." As noted above, he was not limited in his range of choice of life style even though his parents were traditional in a way which he deplores because somehow those traditions led to so much war and revolution. Later, when he emigrated to America he found the boundaries of role-searching and life styles so open by comparison that he seems to feel that adulthood in Ameri . is of a strangely adolescent style. Here he perhaps betrays a bias towari his parents' traditional stance. (Perhaps what is needed is a reorientation of the concept of identity to include a wide range of life styles as acceptable and nonneurotic within their own milieu. Then the American experience would be simply different, but always changing according to the needs of the times, though of course never quite fast enough to catch up with Utopia.) The background of the German holocaust looms ever large in his experience.

B. The individual culture includes such things as ownership, one's family background and peer groups. We have noted the social class standing of his family, his early Montessori education, training as an artist and then

as lay analyst without advanced degrees, his parents and place of residence. He never mentions the fact but it seems his parents had no other children. His religious background seemed to have left its mark in the general sense of a strong mission in life, an ultimate concern to understand and cope with the problem of identity, and to explain it to the world and those who need it to understand themselves. Among his peers his friend Peter Blos was the man of the moment when it came to the crucial turning point, the decision to come to the school of psychoanalysis at Vienna. His other early friends seem to have left their mark only as participants in the struggle to make sense out of his lack of a clear identity, either national, racial or cultural in his early years.

C. Next we shall look at the nature and culture of the profession itself, namely, psychoanalysis. Freud himself ranged from careful laboratory analysis to literary insights, thus showing the most open kind of methodological approach to his material, one truly in keeping with the elusive nature of his subject matter, the unconscious and pathological processes of thought and action in the individual and social behavior of human beings. His teachers and their methods had their strong influence, and he realizes that they must be welcomed as liberators but resisted as potential indoctrinators at the same time. Insight into these influences he admits can only be clarified over a lifetime. The training situation he describes as a "disciplined subjectivity" which partakes in order to understand and guide the latent causes and effects of human behavior and emotions. This is indeed a novel kind of training situation in comparison with that of other disciplines.

There are five conceptions which Freud described in his Autobiographic Study as the "principal constituents of psychoanalysis," namely 1) inner resistance, 2) repression, 3) the unconscious, 4) the aetiological significance

of sexual life, 5) the importance of infantile experience, Erikson believes the notion of "transference" is also crucial. And together these comprise the basic meta-theoretical or methodological background factors determining the nature of the discipline which Erikson practiced. He sees the analyst's office as not only a hearler's den but also a psychologist's laboratory. The common sense and humane humor of the treatment of cases must always be referred to the data on "points of view" regarding clinical observations. These can be studied from the aspect of their structural importance (id, ego, super-ego), the economic balance of energy in man's inner life, and the genetic reconstruction of the origin and development of all these structures, functions and energies. This formed Freud's "metapsychology." Here is a bridge between Freud's study of the physical organism and the mental processes.

Concerning his own life movement Erikson concedes that he likely made a professional life style of his role as stepson, shown for example in his interdisciplinary work. And most psychoanalysts are men who do not seem to belong elsewhere. Erikson sees this as a "configurational affinity of life plan and choice of concepts." Clearly he means much like what the sociologists of knowledge mean when they show the interdependence of one's major styles of thought and the style of life that one develops. They are each dependent on the other, and in effect are selected or fallen into according to the same largely unconscious plan. More could be learned about this process of career choice by a comparative study of the nature of identity crises at different periods of history and in different groups within that period. He sees this kind of study as a historical and clinical tool. It can show how career development in effect derives from personal life history as well as from the history of one's time.

D. The culture of his work places and earlier places of schooling and practical experience have been described implicitly above. They include such ideas as the extracurricular seminars on Freudian theory at Vienna, learning through apprenticeship and sponsorship under a practicing analyst, Anna Freud, the mythical awe invoked by the near presence of Sigmund Freud himself, the subjective and humane approach to studying patients though with a background of hard laboratory research, the fact of dealing directly with people to try to make sense out of their actions as opposed to the observer/counselor imposing a pre-set theory upon them. There is also very importantly the closeness of the analyst to the patient, at least during the clinical hours that certainly had some carry-over into his style of relationships with colleagues and friends experienced after Erikson's formal training. The ideology of being a critical helping person seemed to be overriding. Even considerations of practical politics and active working to change one's society seemed to be overlooked in most of the early work of Erikson. Later his excursions into analysis of great men of history, such as Luther and Gandhi, became his answer to a call for positive social action. Although he was a man of broad interests, the artist and humane analyst seemed to predominate over his other activities almost exclusively as his life went on.

E. The agendas of his teachers were, as we have said, towards the basic assumptions behind Freud's approach of "disciplined subjectivity," including the five constituents, or in Erikson's view, the six constituents of psycho-analysis, noted above. The collegial mode of sponsorship-apprenticeship, and their groundbreaking methods bounded his teachers' ways of dealing with students, including the impressionable but skeptical Erik Erikson. As he says, "Even the most venerable training psychoanalyst is (and must be) both welcomed as a liberating agent and resisted as a potential indoctrinator, and thus be both

accepted and rejected as an identity model ..." (p. 735). His practice in treatment of juvenile disturbances was directed by August Aichhorn. Heinz Hartmann was the leading theoretician. The latter's notion of ego's adaptive response to the environment was juxtaposed to Anna Freud's clarification of the defensive mechanisms employed by the ego against the drives. We are told nothing about the kinds of relationships these people had with Erikson or with one another, only that they were provocative and influential. Perhaps the omission itself tells us that their relationship was quite traditional, as of professor to student, with little depth of social interaction outside of these roles.

F. Outside cultural influences included such things as the fact that during Erikson's years of training Freud no longer taught and never appeared at public functions. Although Erikson met him on occasion in the house or garden Erikson never spoke because of his own shyness and Freud's difficulty in speaking due to a cancerous affliction to the roof of the mouth. Aside from some of the other teachers mentioned above there were some who came as visitors, and others with less direct influence, such as Paul Federn, Wilhelm Reich and Siegfried Bernfeld. The influence of the German holocaust was an important factor in that it opened up other countries to the migration of psychoanalysts. Outside the professional sphere Erik was married to Joan Serson and they had two children. They left Vienna at about the time Hitler came to power in Germany. They soon moved to American after encountering difficulties obtaining Danish citizenship papers. Other outside influences included his hosts at the Harvard Medical School, at Yale, then Berkeley, and his San Francisco practice, field trips to observe American Indians, the McCarthy era and his firing, rehiring and resignation from the University of California at Berkeley, his welcome to the Berkshires and the clinic there

where he found a critic and friend in David Rapaport. Then there was his teaching experience with Harvard undergraduates. The influence of the administrators and mode of making contacts for these various jobs are singularly neglected in the autobiographic notes, perhaps out of lack of space, or perhaps because of the traditional acceptance of how these things are done, or the lack of difficulty he himself experienced in obtaining challenging employment.

Personal Role Elements

Now we shall go back to the beginning again and tell the story with closer attention to the specific elements of the roles he played rather than specifically to the stages in his career development. First we shall begin with his Personal Roles.

H. Erikson's own personality development proceeded as we have seen from the need to make sense of his marginal status as stepson, foundling, Jew, Dane among Germans, itinerant artist, immigrant to America, and perhaps even his very status as psychoanalyst without being a medical doctor, and working as a clinician among people of virtually all related academic disciplines. He received a Montessori diploma. Here we can see how his experience represents and anti-establishment way of life. The shiftless artist searching for solidity showed his alienation from the bourgeois family from which he came with the support of that same family for his "moratorium" period (in which he temporarily dropped out). He recalls his mother as one who while remaining traditional herself, read books, held high and transcendent ambitions for him while at the same time letting him find his own way unhurriedly in a world which still attributed war in a traditional way to evil men, classes or nations.

I. The proximate personal determinants of the direction of his series of career choices can be ascribed to his acceptance into the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute under the headship of Sigmund Freud. His identity model in the form

of his psychoanalytic trainer was Anna Freud, an expert in child analysis. It was Peter Blos, his friend, who invited him to come to study in Vienna, thus stimulating his interest. In a general way it can be said that his interest in the aesthetic order of things led him at least in his early work to avoid their ethical, political and even conceptual implications. His move to America put him face-to-face with the "national character" which seemed to remain always open for new roles and life styles long after adolescence had passed. These were some of the proximate personal determinants of Erikson's choices. Once he became committed to this extent it seemed he was destined to become a child analyst and to remain so for the rest of his life, interspersed, of course, with brief periods of teaching and full-time research and writing.

J. The earlier influence of his mother whom Erikson remembers for her reading and for her positive ambition for him. The additional influences of his respected stepfather were supplemented by his professional socialization into the artist's circle, and then into the Vienna psychoanalytic school. Most notably, the background influence of Sigmund and the immediate training of Sigmund's daughter, Anna Freud, were highly significant. The method of teaching at the shool was through experience in dealing with patients. All theoretical training took place in the evenings in independent study groups. A "devotional atmosphere" presided there because of the personal sacrifices made to be there by the participants, and because of the intensive presentation and debate of every clinical detail and every large scale insight (p. 738).

These are some of the strategies of his socializer persons as he perceived them.

K. Among the immediate personal determinants of his choices must be counted the fact of his acceptance by Anna Freud as a fellowship candidate after witnessing his work with children both as a private tutor and as a

teacher in a small private school. His own insights led him away from Freud's focus on the dream as a means to understanding mental life to a focus on children's play as a means to understanding the growing man's conflicts and triumphs. Here Erikson could see how a man repeatedly works through his past and renews himself in moments of creative play. He was also attracted by the phenomenological and literary approach of Freud which reflected the creativity of the unconscious. This was in opposition to Freud's other side as a former laboratory worker with the scientific and physicalistic terminology.

On an even more personal note, some of Erikson's friends told him that he needed to name the "identity crisis" and to see it in everybody else in order to really come to terms with himself and his problems of personal identity. Among them we have noted his being a Jew and Dane among Germans. Later this sort of experience of marginality no doubt helped him adjust to the role of writing and communicating to interdisciplinary audiences. Added to this was his experience of emigration, sometimes seen as a hard and heartless matter in terms of what is abandoned in the old country and taken up in the new. The cruel survival process is not successfully completed by everyone, but only by the fittest, who can then take up whole new forms of identity (p. 748).

Situational Role Elements

The major consequence for society, people and psychoanalytic practice of Erikson's life and works was his use and later his verification of the identity concepts in clinical practice. This is a situational or societal consequence of his life's search for personal identity and a creative life style.(M) The particular sociopsychological attributes that comprised his behavior were an apparently high level of intelligence, a sound quality of education though not in the formal university channels, the benefit of relatively high social position on the part of his parents which he has no

doubt maintained despite rejection of some of the consequences for self and society. Once he received his training in psychoanalysis he was apparently very self assured in his career line, never hesitating to move from one good position to another when opportunity or personal need indicated a chance to improve his repertoire of skills and crucial life experiences. Despite the personal search for identity or perhaps because of it, or perhaps because of his relatively favored position in the job market in America, he either never had or never expressed doubts about his jobs or work experiences, except for the Berkeley firing and resignation, which by all indications he took in stride.

N. The proximate social determinants of his actions and of his actual choice, against the background of a personal search for meaning, included: his invitation by a friend Peter Blos to join him at the school in Vienna; his acceptance by Anna Freud into the practice of child analysis; and the series of future events, such as his difficulty gaining citizenship papers in Denmark which led to his move to America; the ease with which he found jobs at Harvard, then Yale and Berkeley, and the private practice; the work in interdisciplinary settings, and the experience at the Berkshire child study center. All these experiences provided the proximate opportunities which paved his way to a highly successful career. How much is attributable to native ability and chance circumstance, and how much to hard work and uphill struggle is a question that remains to be answered. If there was a struggle or notable failure in his working career he would probably have said something about it, even in the short autobiographical essay. We might assume the opposite from this omission, that in fact he has not encountered great difficulties in becoming accepted and advancing on the career ladder. And this in turn might lead us to posit the counterpoise, that his theory of the eight stages of man largely presumes that once one has passed the crises of adolescent

self identity then life would proceed rather smoothly to maturity in old age. Since the essay really stops with the identity crisis we would certainly be unfair to make this as a statement based on evidence. It is in fact only a feeling of this writer based hopefully on "disciplined subjectivity." By all indications it seems rather clear at least that his rewards in life and his adult career have been gained without weighty cost to himself other than the costs of self-analysis itself.

O. His individual general situation began with his childhood neighborhood and school situation in which he was always set apart in some way from his peers and even to an extent from his family because of his stepson status. His marginal relations with many people continued the trend and his falling in as it were with nonconformist artist types in his formative years careerwise, all these contributed at their separate stages to his seemingly rather easy series of career decisions. He learned to work regular hours at the Vienna school, identified strongly with his teachers there and fellow students to a significant degree it seems, at least to the point of accepting their common model of working life as his own. He seems now certainly to have achieved his goal of workfulfillment in a continually rising pattern of progress. His friends have told him in retrospect, as noted above, that he needed to identify the concept and see it in all others in order to come to terms with his own "identity crisis." Their labels have no doubt contributed to the crisis, as well as to his being able to work through it in a creative way. And now he is certainlypublicly labeled by his profession, by other scholars and thousands of laymen as a important contributor to psychoanalytic thought and practice.

P. Among the immediate situational determinants were the easy acceptance into significant job opportunities and the correlated ability to make contacts with important people in his and related fields after his arrival in America.

This presumes the original acceptance into the fold at Vienna by Anna Freud. He apparently never experienced the difficulties of going through job placement agencies and finding the market practically nonexistent. And his employers must have always been rather hospitable. But then there is not really much chance to interfere or observe one's individual technique except in (the earlier much less common) group therapy sessions. Thus because of the very nature of the profession he chose other people had little opportunity to contradict his interpretations. This is typical of psychiatry and psychoanalysis and perhaps one of the profession's attractions to its practitioners and beginning students. The opportunity as a child analyst to be a kind of god to the patients is another possible element of attraction for one considering such a career. A hierarchical style of relationship between therapist and patient is liable to be the result, perhaps even reinforcing this mode of relating to others in Erikson as noted in his shyness about ever speaking to Freud himself. The seminars that many evenings met in their teachers' homes in Vienna gave him contact with many who later became famous analysts in the U.S.

Q. His specific definition of his situation of course changed with the tide of his experiences. But in line with his training as an analyst he developed an ability to help others define their situations in a new and fruitful way so as to help them live more creative lives, to deal more flexibly with problems and role conflicts and contradictory motivations. As suggested more than once before above, there is in most instances a professional distance separating analyst and patient which is not universally desirable in everyday living. Socially distant means of socializing others may well indicate a need to maintain this distance on the part of the analyst. Naturally, for good reasons, this distance must be maintained. No analyst can exert that much

energy to become personally deeply involved with every patient. But that might also be a flaw in the method. It does not happen with friends. And transference relationships which result in anger of the patient towards analyst may in part be due to his maintenance of such distance when what the patient needs is a true friend who is his social equal who understands and can help him more democratically (than an authority figure such as an analyst could) to work through his problems.

R. On the one hand, we see that the counseling situation and the use of psychoanalytic theory promotes empathizing with the patient in order to see through his problems. As a counterpoise to this, we see that Erikson's positive attempts to achieve coordination and meshing of personalities in his own life seem to have been accepted by him unproblematically.

Basic Hypotheses Illustrated

What follows is a kind of summary in tentatively explanatory form. The most general encompassing hypothesis concerning identity bargaining is as follows:

1. Self identity (uniquely bounded and stimulated in a role) is largely affected by how the typical occupational persona of the socializee meshes with that range of role enactments acceptable and desired by him (involving perceived knowledge and skills, and potential) as perceived, and especially as sanctioned by the expressed agendas of the gate keepers in his present socializing or social learning situation. In the case of Erik Erikson we could say that he achieved his personal self identity as a result of the meshing of his need to be creative in an interpersonal way with the occupational persona of psychoanalyst typified by "disciplined subjectivity" expressed by his teachers, notably by Anna Freud, and later by his hosts and employers at Harvard and Yale.

The key subordinate hypothesis is:

2. The socializer's agenda (primarily involving his formal and informal teaching attempts, and whether or not he operates with a sponsorship or judgeship system) depends heavily on the ideology of the discipline, or the occupation. The method of Anna Freud was one of sponsorship and apprenticeship supplemented by the relatively informal theoretical seminars. And this was a close reflection of the thinking and practice of Sigmund Freud himself and of course the nature and ideology of the profession of psychoanalysis of individual persons.

Some other general hypotheses include the following:

3. The socializer's agenda strongly affects the socializee's persona, self-role, identity, and self consistency. The professional study under Anna Freud reinforced Erikson's need to deal intimately with persons (as he said) in order to work out his own self identity and personal consistency. Because of his deep needs in this respect it could with complete justification be said that he was a natural for this type of profession.

4. The socializee's persona, identity, and self consistency strongly affects the type of accommodation style selected or resulting from his attempts at dealing with his socializer. Since Erikson was shy as he tells us, this may have been another indication of why he had an inclination toward treating children. We would suspect that his relationship with Anna Freud was one of deep respect and perhaps also of submission while retaining the necessary suspiciousness as to any teacher in respect to the teacher's ideology. Yet despite this wariness Erikson himself admits that his teachers may have had more influence on him than he might like to admit was objectively the case. But this seems always the case, as he is well aware.

5. The typical meshing of socializer and socializee personas correlates with the kind of role identity and self consistency they maintain. The

groundbreaking field coupled with a basically traditional attitude toward authority onthe part of both teacher (Anna Freud) and student (Erikson) apparently correlated with their respective identities and patterns of self consistency thus allowing them to mesh well and facilitating the learning process of Erikson, the goal of their relationship.

6. Self and role identity (of socializer and socializee) are correlated with one's occupational persona type, and degree and kind of self consistency. His uncertain identity as stepchild and artist match the bohemian stereotype of his humane analytical profession, which is directed toward helping people adjust to their identity as persons, to fit into the world of work, and to become more consistent within themselves. We have no information about Anna Freud in this regard in the present article.

7. In summary: Other things being equal, in the role-transaction process, to the extent that the strain of the individuals's cultural, situational and personal roles converge on a stage-specific career-identity type, to that extent it is more probable that such an individual will identify with the career in question, and simultaneously participate in its culture. It is quite clear from the autobiographic notes that there was a definite strain in the patterning of Erikson's early life (in his cultural, situational and personal role factors) which converged upon a productive career, which in turn plugged him into the lives of others in an intimate way (and thus fulfilling his characteristic need at stage 6 of his eight stages of man). This convergence also provided him with an outlet for his (stage 7 or) generativity needs, providing for and helping young people to make the world a better place to live and work. He certainly identified strongly with the career, seemingly never entertaining doubts about whether he had chosen the proper profession. He has become one with the culture and aims of the profession, a personification

of its value for human beings inneed of help and understanding. He has in a word, achieved the goal of service to those in need of self identity.

Next we shall illustrate the twenty more specific hypotheses beginning with eight dealing largely with cultural roles, three with personal roles, and nine with situation-role elements.[1]

Hypotheses re Cultural Roles

The following eight hypotheses (numbered 4 through 11) suggest interrelations of the factors treated and listed under cultural roles as experienced by the subject (A through F).

1. Many background socio-physical elements set boundaries to the culture of the corporation (the companies, colleges and institutes in which one works) and to the specific work group members who comprise one's immediate colleagues. A——→D. European traditions, a bourgeois family, the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, as well as his upbringing in Karlsruhe with marginal status among his peers all contributed to Erikson's input into or meshing with the intense training he received under Anna Freud. He followed in the shadow of Sigmund Freud himself with his predominantly subjective and humane approach to studying and helping patients with deep-rooted psychological problems. His background seemed to obviate the possibility of his going into laboratory research or any other more restrictive approach to the study of human behavior. His later writings on such unorthodox leaders as Luther and Gandhi who experienced parallel problems of a search for identity only seemed dictated by his still further need to drive his overriding idea home in every conceivable manner.

2. Individual cultural factors set boundaries to the culture of the workplace. B——→D The individualistic training of Montessori schooling, training as an artist, his sense of mission in life, as well as his friendship with and

acceptance of the influence of Peter Blos in inviting him to come to Vienna to school, all these were influences from his background which fed into and meshed with the individualistic training in a groundbreaking field of study at Vienna. Erikson says little or nothing about his personal influence on his teachers and colleagues at Vienna, let alone on his patients. We do not know from this work at least whether he had an impact. His noted shyness in speaking, especially shyness about speaking to the person of Sigmund Freud, and no doubt to others too. He apparently had a traditional respect for authority, at least in outward ways, probably indicating that he played the role of underling very well and made no moves to change the types of relationships which he discovered his social contacts. We only know that he had great reverence for his teachers, though with a certain skepticism lest he be thoroughly indoctrinated with their ideologies. There was enough controversy among the teachers at the school and the followers of Freud to cause him or anyone to take pause at uncritical acceptance of their ideas.

3. Individual cultural factors set boundaries on the nature and culture of the profession or occupation and the discipline itself. B- - →C Although at the time he came to Vienna he probably had little original impact on the atmosphere or trend of education and training received by the other students, he certainly has had his influence in later years upon the nature and direction of a significant number of his profession, and perhaps an even greater significance for the lay readers of his books, an influence on teachers and psychologists well beyond the exclusive pale of psychoanalysis itself.

4. The nature and culture of the profession, occupation, and discipline set limits to the culture of the (corporation, company, college, or in general of one's) place of work. C- - →D The original work of Freud and his orthodox followers dictated the culture and basic assumptions about dealing with

people as patients and no doubt as students at the Vienna school. The same holds true of the orthodox followers of Freud, who are practicing psychoanalysts in their individual ways, who put Freud's ideas into practice in their private spheres of work throughout the world.

5. The nature and culture of the profession, occupation, and discipline affect, and are somewhat reciprocally affected by, the socializer(s)' agenda. C ← → E As noted above, the profession as a whole molded Erikson in a certain direction, giving his thought a general structure. And in turn the fame of his work has reciprocally affected the profession (as well as the general public).

6. The nature and culture of the profession, occupation, and discipline affect the socializer's agenda. C - - → E Although the essay does not give much background on the profession at the time, it is clear that Freud was held in remarkably high esteem at this time, although of course such associated greats as Adler, Jung and others had long since become known in their own right for their heresy in relation to Freud's teachings. The apparently quite orthodoz training received by Erikson (insofar as psychoanalysis can be considered an orthodox profession) in all important respects bolstered Erikson's (apparently, to all intents and purposes) already implicitly chosen life style and search for identity through intimate and analytical relationships with his patients. The groundbreaking aspects of the profession and its disciplined subjectivity no doubt showed itself in unconscious ways through the teachers at the Vienna school. More information needs to be gathered on this point.

7. Outside influences also affect the socializer's agenda. F - - → E Outside influences, such as teachers other than his major trainer, the aura around Freud himself, the German holocaust, and his marriage and two children all limited the direction of his choices and in subtle ways affected his

practice. Preceding this, his own teachers were no doubt affected by the political situation, although he remarks that Vienna remained blithely unconcerned with most such things, at least until Austria itself was drawn into the conflict. Perhaps the nature of the profession, which deals almost exclusively with individuals, made it easy for its members to attribute such evils to single men with pathological tendencies. Unfortunately, at the same time the profession easily tends to overlook the powerful influence of whole social structures in producing such men. In the same vein the profession overlooks the means by which individual men must join together in groups to counter such social structures because those structures fostered harmful aggression against nations and peoples without provocation.

8. Within the individual culture (item B), ownership and family factors are correlated, and both affect the extent of participation and kind of peer group entered. The bourgeois family upbringing was correlated with his stepfather's respected position as pediatrician. And his social rank no doubt led to his possibility of taking up the artist's life, one of some leisure, as well as facilitating the wandering and pleasure-seeking trips to Italy. His peers were no doubt similar in background regarding social class. Otherwise, Peter Blos, for example, would not have had the ambition to study psychoanalysis, a profession entered largely by the sons of the relatively privileged classes.

Hypotheses re Personal Roles

Some hypotheses which relate the variables under the heading of personal roles involve concepts preceded by the letter H through J. Three hypotheses dealing with the causal relationships of these clusters of variables can be stated.

9. Overall personality development feeds into the proximate personal determinants of career choice. H---→I The sense of being a stepson, anti-establishment type, though not without his own kind of traditional leanings, gave direction to the series of career choices he made, most notably his enrollment at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute for training in child analysis under Anna Freud. His year as an artist of rather bohemian style preceded this. And the completion of his training led him to assume positions after immigration to the U.S. which certainly strongly bolstered his personality needs as well as his career choice. Positions at Harvard and Yale and the mere fact of being a practitioner in a pioneering field in his time are enough to bolster any man's choices.

10. These proximate personal determinants in turn affect the more immediate personal determinants. I- -→K His decision to go to Vienna to study led to his being accepted by Anna Freud as a pupil after she observed him and his work with children in a small private school. This transition from the life of an artist gave him the stability he needed to focus his effort in creative directions, to work out and label and see his own problem of identity in everyone around him. The circumstantial need to emigrate led to a further opening up of opportunities and a reinforcing of his commitment to his career choice through the experience of his first full time jobs in the field (apart from his formal training experience at Vienna).

11. There is a reciprocal influence between the socializer strategies (as perceived by the socializee) and the socializee's immediate personal determinants. J--→K Some determinants in his life were: the respect accorded his father, a medical doctor working with children, his mother's interest in books, her allowing him freedom to choose his own path in life, as well as his freedom to work within a given structure of psychoanalysis at the Vienna

school. These were some of the factors that facilitated his creative ideas at the same time they allowed him to work through his own childhood conflicts.

Hypotheses re Situational Roles

Finally we turn to the hypotheses relating to the situational role factors, those lettered M through R, with the nine hypotheses being numbered 12 through 20.

12. Sociopsychological attributes correlate with proximate social determinants. M←→N Intelligence, education and social position made it easy for him to accept his friend's invitation to study with him in Vienna. And these things probably had at least a hidden effect on the impression he made on Anna Freud, which in turn led Erikson to be accepted under her tutelage.

13. Sociopsychological attributes affect the individual's general situation. M→O Again, his intelligence, education and social position affected his adaptation to his stepson role at home, his formal education, as well as his informal contacts with friends, the nonconformist artist types, and later also affected his adjustment to working regular hours at Vienna, his respect for his teachers, and in general the adaptable way he managed to fit into his changing environments.

14. Proximate social determinants affect the individual's general situation. N→O His coming to Vienna was crucial and instrumental in helping him to develop regular work habits, to respect his teachers, and to eventually fulfill himself through his work.

15. Proximate social determinants affect the immediate situational determinants. N→P His coming to Vienna quickly led to his gaining acceptance into the school. His coming to America quickly led to his acceptance into important positions at Harvard and Yale, which constituted the immediate determinants of his ability to contribute to the profession and to become known.

16. The immediate situational determinants in turn affect the individual's in turn affect the individual's general situation. P- - ➔O His apparently easy job opportunities undoubtedly smoothed his way in America and thus throughout his later life. He seems to have felt that he learned to speak and write English slowly. Still at any rate he managed to do so. And the number of books he has since written are a perfect testament to that fact.

17. The individual's general situation affects his definition of the situation. O- - ➔Q His marginality and search for identity led him to successively define his position and those of others in terms of a search for identity, followed by his (and their) development of the strengths of intimacy and generativity.

18. The immediate situational determinants affect an individual's definition of the situation. P- - ➔Q His easy acceptance into jobs and creative occupational positions no doubt led him to look back to his own turning points in the work world. For example, his joining the school at Vienna is for him a prototypical turning point. A theapeutic goal would be for his patients to successfully copy with similar turning points. His patients were in need of help. In his own terms they were in need of finding their own identity before they could be intimate as he was with his wife during this period of his life. Then they needed to advance into a generative or productive period of work. It is conceivable that in therapy sessions or analytic sessions he sizes up the immediate determinants of why patients came to him. Generally, why are they now in dire straights? Then he tries to get them to see that they have not yet achieved identity or defined their situation as one which could eventually fit into the world of work, or into their destined niche in society. This may be a bit of a caricature of Erikson's life, but in principle the sketch is quite plausible.

19. The individual's definition of the situation is also affected by outside (cultural) influences, by immediate personal determinants, and by socializer strategies, as perceived. F, K, & J- - ⇾Q (F) The influence of Freud, the world war, his family (wife and children), (K) his acceptance at the Vienna institute by Anna Freud, his own search for identity, as well as (J), the respect accorded his stepfather, his mother's interest in books and her offering of a free choice of life style to her son, all converged in Erikson's case on a creative identity which expansively moved to help others in the course of analyzing them to understand himself and themselves.

20. The individual's definition of the situation closely bounds his coordination attempts. Q- - ⇾R His definition of a huge variety of life situations as needing to be focused by a personal identity led him to relate to others, most certainly to his numerous patients as being in need of pursuing a similar search and finding of their identity.

Significance

The basic variables in the accounting scheme combine notions from structural-functionalism (the cultural, situation and personal role types or action systems) with symbolic interactionism (especially in such key terms as the definition of the situation, self concept, identity, primary and secondary labeling, full development of the self, the generalized other (implied throughout), bargaining with gatekeepers, and the idea of negotiating one's career path through groups interaction and social organizations). This intermingling of ideas should help us to see that basically structural functionalism focuses on structures at moments or period of time while symbolic interactionism focuses on the mechanisms by which individuals in structures navigate their way and even change these structures. The completeness of the listing provided is seen in the fact that it was derived by reviewing the literature and combining

all relevant listings of concepts. The resultant listing should be more useful than previous ones because it is synthetic, systematic, explicit, because it invokes sociological, psychological and geographical principles, and because hypotheses are stated and interrelated (which is the essence of explanatory theory).

A procedure is described (on pp. 1-3) for content analysis based on a judges' rating system for the check list of influential factors in career choice. This approach should help to codify facts from many biographies. The policy utility of the approach could be advanced by setting up a system of computer matching of attitudes and corporate needs based on depth interviews. The theory could be the starting point for counseling individual career-seekers because it is a theoretically well-grounded outline of the long-term process which is open to any life style or approach to career selection. Because it is such a definitive accounting scheme it could be used to formulate a training program or broad course of studies for preparation for any career. The illustrations provide in addition more explicit analytical detail about Erikson's life than any other known to the author. It drives home the notion of complementary fit between personal choices and social structural influences and needs in Erikson's career.

Overall, the major significance of this paper is in its attempt to develop and make useful a comprehensive yet parsimonious set of elements of professional socialization cast in a contextual, deductive, open systems conceptual model. Focusing on the formal as well as informal organizational context of socialization processes, the central concept of "role identity bargaining" was used to begin to synthesize and show the complementarity of several basic concepts of structural functionalism and symbolic interactionism (the latter notably in the terms: self concept, definition of the situation and generalized other).

In turn, this approach begins to show the applicability of some key symbolic interactionist terms to organization-institutional analyses, which has been a heretofore needy and neglected endeavor. The model classifies the variables pertaining to career development into aspects of the three (Parsonian) action systems most crucial to a fuller analytical understanding of human social behavior (namely,the cultural, the personality and the social systems). While delineating the various typical career stages and turning points, the scope of the model should facilitate our ability to select and focus on key variables without neglecting to see relations in context. This avoids the evils of mere bivariate analysis. When fully operationalized by the researcher, the model will be a useful heuristic tool for biographers and social scientists, a tool for analyzing social processes relevant to policy and counseling decisions, particularly as these decisions relate to the meshing of socializer and socializee means, goals and interaction styles.

Practical Conclusions and Recommendations

Perhaps the most systematic among earlier accounting schemes is that of Miller and Form (1964). The most explanatory theory has been Hilton's (1962) because it unifies five others. In addition, many practical applications have been made of simple psychological notions like that of trait-matching to develop instruments known as interest tests. All of these advances should be useful to the researcher and the counselor, but not directly to the counselee, the career-chooser. It is the author's hope that the detailed application of the present theory to the interesting and suggestive life of Erik Erikson, especially in its delineation of his own struggle for self identity, will sufficiently stimulate the student or layman to work his way through the paper, to become familiar with the elements influencing his own career choice in such a way that his own choices will be made with more self confidence, as

well as more surely if not more easily. Ideally, the chooser should work closely with his counselor and talk to as many persons in lines of work close to his own basic career directions.

Then the chooser could make a list of how each variable applies to his own life, following up later as time allows with elaboration of each point in a personal journal (such as Ira Progoff's Intensive Journal: 1975; or Kirn's Lifework Planning Workbook: 1974), so that the numerous turning points and steppingstones in one's past can be reviewed at a later time. Missed potentialities can more easily be seen through such a moderately structured journal. And in turn, new directions can be explored in a systematic and imaginative way. Our ultimate aim is to open up more creative opportunities for every concerned person.

Overall Evaluation of the "Theory"

The model or partial theory is quite easy to apply, especially if one follows the examples given here and thoroughly familiarizes himself with the meaning of all concepts in the long list. Patience will be necessary in the beginning, but the effort should be productive for the serious researcher. The hypotheses are stated in ways that are testable through content analysis. Naturally, further operationalization would have to be done in order to use a questionnaire or interview mode of research.

The information value of the concepts could hardly be greater if one looks at the comprehensive list of concepts. The author is aware of no more complete list. The information in terms of future codification of research findings remains to be seen, but will hopefully be great. Future research could well be directed to additional applications written up in a way that compares lives of significant individuals who have contributed say in philosophical and political ways who have also had a large following, such as the persons

of Mao Tse Tung, Martin Luther, Mahatma Gandhi or Ignatius Loyola. Other interesting comparisons are limited only by one's imagination.

No theory dealing with a person's whole lifetime can be anywhere near fully predictive. No theory with so many essential variables could be highly predictive. But with the aid of such a parsimonious and comprehensive list it becomes quite easy to postdict or retrodict the basic direction of a person's life. And with this configuration clearly stated the person and his counselor could certainly more easily forecast the direction of his career choices in the next couple of years, and quite probably much longer.

The explanatory power of the model is contained in the hypotheses. Because of the broad and necessarily somewhat vague causal relations stated in the hypotheses there will always be an incomplete explanation possible with this model or, for that matter, with any other comprehensive theory of career development over a lifetime. Hopefully it will one day be possible to specify the hypotheses even more clearly so that the theory as a whole will be more cogent. As it stands, probably the greatest value of the model is its implied explanation contained in the terms of the accounting scheme. If we could narrow down the researcher's concern to two or three hypotheses it would inevitably allow us to achieve a higher degree of explanatory power in our analysis. As usual there is almost always an inverse ratio between explanatory power and information value.

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